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PREFACE

The Yuman tribes on the Gila River were originally the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom alone. Prior to 1800, the Maricopa occupied the river above Gila Bend; the Kaveltcadom, a hitherto-unrecorded Halchidhoma speaking group, lay from the Bend downstream halfway to the Colorado. These are the Cocomaricopa and Opa of early Spanish records. About the opening of the nineteenth century the Maricopa shifted a few miles eastward to the middle Gila, where they established themselves in close proximity to the Pima. Here they were joined between 1825 and 1830 by the Halchidhoma fleeing from the Colorado. A decade later (1838–39) the remnant of Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed the Halchidhoma from the Colorado, and about the same time the Kaveltcadom were absorbed from the lower Gila. Since all these movements took place under wholly aboriginal conditions, it seems legitimate to refer to them now in the aggregate as tribes of the Gila River.

It must be understood that the descriptions of the present account apply to the Maricopa unless specifically ascribed to the other tribes. The mixed community has been Maricopa in speech and essentially Maricopa in custom since its formation a century ago. My impression is that in material culture the Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Halchidhoma were essentially alike in the days before their commingling, so that in this respect the description of the Maricopa must also apply to the others. It proved possible to get specific information on most of Halchidhoma non-material culture, so that in the second instance, this paper embodies a description of that people. Notes on the Kaveltcadom, Kohuana and Halyikwamai are incidental.

Maricopa and Halchidhoma spoke barely separable dialects. Yuma was intelligible to them; Mohavé and Walapai-Havasupai-Yavapai were closely related, but unintelligible. The other lower Colorado Yuman tribes, Cocopa, Kohuana, and Haly-

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kwamai spoke tongues similar or identical with each other, but set off from Maricopa-Halchidhoma.

The Maricopa have been historically linked with the adjacent Pima. For this reason they have been invariably dismissed as merely Pima-like by earlier writers who uniformly approached from the side of the historically more important, and more numerous, Pima. Their culture was, however, not that of the Pima. It was rather a lower Colorado culture resembling the Pima to no greater degree than the Pima themselves resembled the lower Colorado peoples.

There are today two Maricopa communities; one in the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers, the other, smaller, on the south bank of the Salt at Lehi, a few miles north of Mesa. To the local whites, all the members of these communities are "Maricopa." Actually they consist of the five Yuman tribes mentioned above, intermarried through several generations. It would be difficult to say whether Maricopa or Halchidhoma blood is now preponderant: the Kohuana, Halykwamai, Pima, and lesser ingredients, such as Yuma, are small. Today they form tribally unsegmented communities of Maricopa speech.

The larger Maricopa community in the Gila-Salt confluence numbers somewhat under three hundred individuals. Their scattered houses lie on the extreme western end of the Gila River Indian Reservation, a few miles west of Laveen and about fifteen southwest of Phoenix. There is little contact with the Pima villages, the nearest of which is now ten miles southeast near Gila Crossing. All the notes on which this paper is based were obtained from this community. That at Lehi was not visited. The Lehi group was said to consist of a half dozen families, primarily Halchidhoma. The earlier location of these mixed groups was on both sides of the Gila from Gila Crossing for ten miles upstream to Pima Butte. This area was abandoned in favor of the present locations a half century ago. There is now no Yuman-speaking person in their former territory, nor on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation twenty-five miles south, and none in the Gila Bend district.

Little of the ancient culture remains, the "Maricopa" having

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101 the Cocopa nearer the Gulf of California, and upstream, south of
131 the Colorado gorge, the Mohave. Various smaller tribes (Halchidhoma, Kohuana, Halyikwamai, Chemehuevi, Kamia, and perhaps others) had shifting loci in the historic period, now between Yuma and Cocopa, again between Yuma and Mohave.

The current notion is that in early Spanish days the people we
131 now call Maricopa were living on the lower Gila, from Gila Bend
175 downstream, and that they left there before 1850 to join the Pima on the middle Gila. This is the region occupied, according to my information, by the Kaveltcadom. It is generally assumed that the Spanish writers made no mention of Maricopa settlements above Gila Bend. They described the inhabitants of the district downstream from Gila Bend as Cocomaricopa and Opa, both Yuman in speech; sometimes distinguishing between them, sometimes asserting their identity. With the exception of Garcés they ignored the settlements on the great sweep of the river north and east of Gila Bend.

101 I believe it can be shown that there was at most but a slight
174 shift of Maricopa from perhaps as far as Gila Bend to the middle Gila, but more probably from above the Bend and the vicinity of
131 the Salt-Gila junction to the home they ascribe to themselves a few miles to the east. Whether the Cocomaricopa and Opa of the Spanish writers can be distinguished may never be known. If the Cocomaricopa are to be identified with the present-day Maricopa, of which I am none too sure, the Opa must be by distinction the Kaveltcadom. The best explanation would seem to be that the Spaniards were aware of a tribal distinction, now represented in native parlance by the terms Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, but confusedly applied it in only part of the territory, namely the district from Gila Bend downstream.

The sections which follow give native testimony and documentary evidence on these points in some detail.

174 The slight shift suggested here is a far cry from the current
[173] idea of a Maricopa migration from far down the Gila. Perhaps one reason for this erroneous view is that the traditions of the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai of their own migrations from the Colorado have been mistaken for those of the Maricopa.

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Maricopa. The reason is intelligible, since these Yuman remnants have been thoroughly incorporated in the Maricopa community for the better part of a century. The Halchidhoma fled the Colorado about 1825–30, going to Sonora, and shortly after joining the Maricopa near the Pima. Ten years later the linked Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed them eastward. The Kaveltcadom joined the Maricopa community at about the same time.

Population estimates are available from the late eighteenth and middle nineteenth centuries. In a tabular statement in 1776, Garcés set the number of Halchidhoma and Cocomaricopa each at 2500. These Cocomaricopa include the Opa of those days, together being the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom of the present paper. Previously (May 1774) he had written of the Cocomaricopa-Opa that "it appears to me that they number no less than 2500 souls between Agua Caliente and the villages of La Pasión de Tucavi [near Hassayampa Creek]," the whole span of their territory. He repeated this (November 1775), "It appears to me that this nation will number some 30 hundred souls," evidently again including those both above and below Gila Bend. This total for the combined Maricopa-Kaveltcadom is inferentially confirmed by Anza (November 1775), who gives a careful estimate of those below Gila Bend: "For, most of this tribe having come before me with the intention of not living hidden now, because of the peace which they enjoy, as well as to receive the presents . . . . for which purpose I have convoked them, there have assembled on the way from San Simón y Judas de Opasoitac [Gila Bend] to here [San Bernardino, above the Mohawk Mountains] scarcely fifteen hundred persons." It is palpable that he omits the population north of the Bend, where Garcés noted that the settlements were very populous. In his complete diary Anza offers direct confirmation: "The Opa or Cocomaricopa tribe . . . . apparently does not reach three thousand persons." The numbers seen at various villages are cited by these gentry, but they are not significant because there is no way of knowing how many had flocked to see the strangers. However, Anza (December 8, 1775) abruptly revised his estimates downward, reporting

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114 that the inhabitants of the Colorado, and the "Cocomaricopas, including the Opas," must be a third less than he had previously reported.[1]

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Fifteen hundred to two thousand is not an impossible number for the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom jointly in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the same number for the Halchidhoma may well be too large. Garcés' opportunities for observation were poor. Kroeber believes that Garcés overestimated all the smaller groups on the Colorado and prefers to believe the Halchidhoma about one thousand at that time.[2]

In 1852 Bartlett credited the Pima and Maricopa jointly with not above two thousand and quoted approvingly Johnston, who estimated them as over this number. "Of the number stated by me, I was told that two thirds were Pimos,"[3] a proportion that seems to hold from the century before. By this time the Maricopa had received accessions of Halchidhoma, Kohuana, Halyikwamai, and Kaveltcadom, who collectively may have comprised half the number of these "Maricopa."

They are reported to have dwindled to 386 in 1910.[4] Today Maricopa and Halchidhoma constitute the bulk of the population, being represented in about equal numbers.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION FROM NATIVE ACCOUNTS

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The ethnic configuration at the opening of the nineteenth century was described by the Maricopa as follows. The Maricopa settlements clustered on both sides of the middle Gila near Secate (at the foot of Pima Butte). They called themselves pipai' or pipa's, "men." Since their languages are identical, this was also the name the Halchidhoma applied to themselves; for distinction, they called each other respectively paĭnya', "eastern men," or pa'ĭnyaxa'na, "true eastern people," and xaltcaðð'm.

[1] Coues, I, 123; II, 442; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 375, 388; III, 31; IV, 63; V, 304–5.

[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 796, 799, 883.

[3] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 263.

[4] Dixon, *Indian Population*, p. 18. [Text continues on page 6]

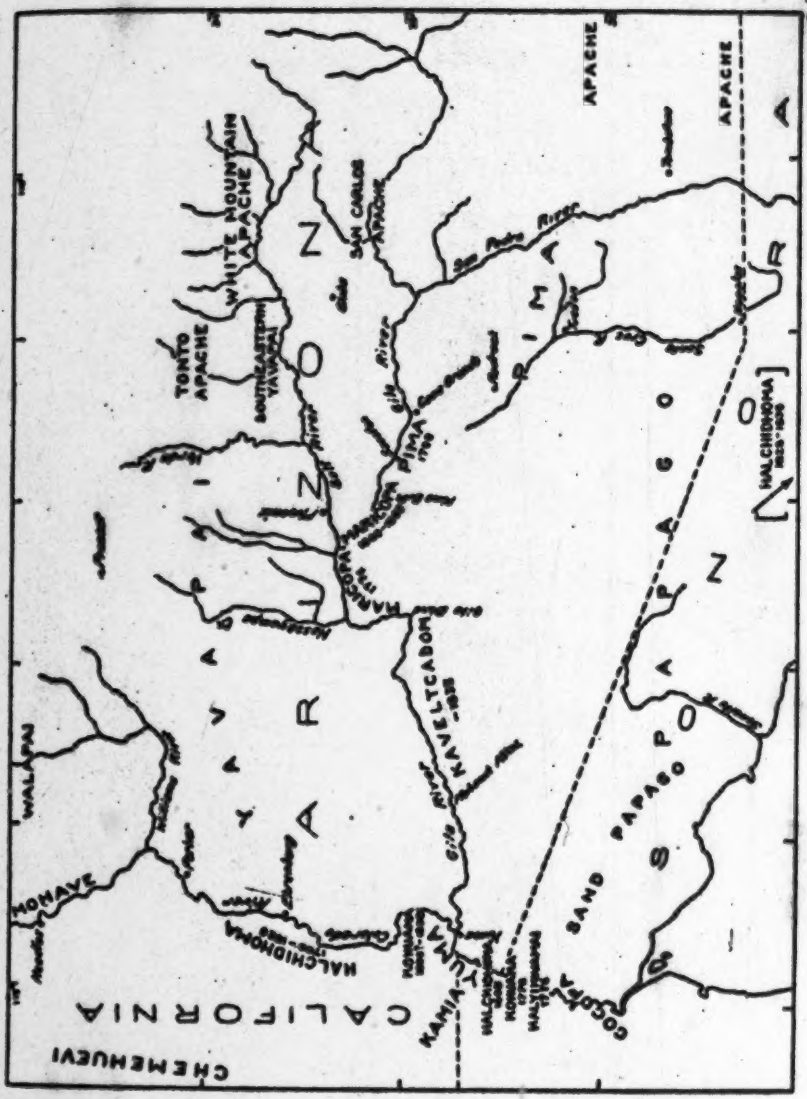

FIG. 1.—Map of tribal distribution in southern Arizona

[p. 5]

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101 173 [197] agrees with a statement about their language: that it in no way resembled Maricopa but was not like Chemehuevi. Cahuilla and Chemehuevi do indeed belong to quite different branches of the Shoshonean stock.)[17]

The Halchidhoma (xaltcâθŏ'm) were two or three days journey down river from the Mohave at the opening of the nineteenth century, that is, below Parker.

Next downstream, according to Maricopa information, were the yăvipai' kâve', "western Yavapai," who, however, did not live directly on the Colorado but in the mountains to the east.

101 114 115 175 Inquiry was made of two tribal names recorded by Oñate in 1605. At or below Parker he encountered the Bahacechas, allied with the Mohave and of the same speech. This was prior to Halchidhoma occupation of this territory. The name is clearly Yuman, but as Kroeber remarks is unidentifiable.[18] The Maricopa did not recognize it, but Mrs. Redbird suggested it might be the sib name pakĭ't mistaken for a tribal designation. She pointed out that "people would tell their sib names first, being proud of them." Collectively the people of this sib would be pakĭ'tcĭc. At the same time we must recognize that while the Halchidhoma and Maricopa have the sib pakĭ't, the Mohave do not. Oñate also reported the Ozaras on the lower Gila, extending to the shores of the sea. Kroeber's suggested possible identification with a Pima or Papago division seems plausible, since it is known that isolated bands of Piman speech were in this general locality in later times. Again Maricopa informants failed to recognize the name. Mrs. Redbird's suggestion was that it might be ose'ʀâm, "I am freezing," mistaken for a tribal name,[19] hence the group may have been of Yuman speech. This is not impossible since Oñate reached this group in midwinter.

101 173 The Yuma (kwĭtca'n) were three days below the Halchidhoma at the mouth of the Gila River. (The mouth was called hŏmkwĭtâva'vâ.) The informant had never heard that the Yuma lived in any location other than this. A days' journey south of the Yuma were the Kohuana (koɣwa'n; singular k'wĭn), probably on the west side of the Colorado, west or northwest of the Cocopa. They had already incorporated the Halyikwamai (xal,ikâmai'), a people of identical speech, so that koɣwa'n and xal,ikâmai' are sometimes considered interchangeable names.

[17] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 577.

[18] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 802.

[19] As the tribal name Pima is derived in error from the Piman words pia, piate, "none" (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 19).

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the river). "The Halchidhoma were more numerous than any other tribe on the Colorado;" a doubtful statement. But they had a number of villages along the river. "A single village of houses close together might cover this farm [forty acres]. If one visited from village to village, it would take three days." At any rate their number was considerable; the 2,500 numbered by Garcés in 1776 may be an overestimate, but not an impossible one.

The location of the Halchidhoma in the summer of 1776 was recorded by Garcés.[23] Fourteen leagues south of a stream identifiable as Williams River he arrived at the northernmost group of their rancherías on the left bank, styling them San Antonio. Two leagues below were the Rancherías de Santa Coleta, "much abounding in crops." Two and a half leagues more brought him to the Laguna de la Trinidad, where he was "detained to talk with the old men," presumably at a settlement at this place. Crossing to the right bank, after half a league he found the Rancherías de la Asumpcion. Two and a half leagues below on the same side were several rancherías (Lagrimas de San Pedro). In the next five and a half leagues he passed "two rancherías and some ranchos" and crossing again to the Arizona side, found another ranchería. A final step of a league and a half brought him to the most southerly of the Halchidhoma settlements. This was, by his reckoning, sixteen and a half leagues (about forty-five miles) above the mouth of the Gila. None of the points in Halchidhoma territory is easily identified, but the span of their holdings is clear. It stretched on both sides of the Colorado for some forty miles (fourteen and a half leagues) from a point about that distance below Williams River to forty-five miles above the Gila. Making due allowance for both his circuitous route and the winding of the Colorado, we can place this middle third roughly from somewhat below Parker to above the Trigo Mountains. This is the region cited by my informants for the half century following.

His earlier route of May 1774 is even more difficult to trace, but leaves clearly the impression that he found the Halchidhoma in the same district. Some of the place names are duplicated in the two accounts. Leaving Agua Caliente, he reached the Colorado at a point which Bolton plausibly suggests was in the vicinity of Ehrenburg. Two leagues southwest was the home of the chief, "where assembled many Jalchedunes who lived down the river." He found these Indians through a district of ten leagues north of this point, all on the Arizona side.[24]

Attacked by both Yuma and Mohave, the Halchidhoma were constantly forced to shift their position. There is some recollection of having lived at first nearer the Yuma.

When the Yuma killed some of our men, we moved a little farther up the river each time and settled again. When we moved closer to the Mohave, they came

[23] Coues, II, 423–30.

[24] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 376–87.

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This is based solely on their close linguistic affinity to Yuma, Halchidhoma, and Mohave.

Our first question then concerns the identification of the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom with the Cocomaricopa and Opa of the Spanish records. Fortunately we have illuminating sets of data at intervals covering three centuries: Kino and Manje in 1694–1700, Anza, Garcés, Font, and Diaz in 1774–75, and Bartlett in 1852. It seems advisable to present this documentary evidence in some detail.[43]

In Kino's day (1694–1700) the occupation of this region was somewhat different from that described by native testimony as of 1850. Northern Sonora and the interior south of the Gila River were occupied by Pima. The modern division into Papago and Pima was not recognized, but the Pima of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers were set off from those to the south as Sobaipuris or Pimas Sobaipuris. They occupied the San Pedro from roughly the vicinity of the present Tombstone northward to the Gila, and the Santa Cruz valley from Tucson to about Red Rock.[44] But most significantly for our present purpose, the middle Gila from Casa Grande to Gila Crossing, in its western part the traditional home of the Maricopa, seems to have contained Sobaipuris Pima villages alone. The Cocomaricopas and Opas, who were by inference from Kino's memoir linked tribes, were placed on the Gila from Gila Bend westward to the Mohawk Mountains. This is precisely the territory assigned by my native informants to the Kaveltcadom and to them alone. The inference from Kino's record alone would be that since the opening of the eighteenth century the Maricopa shifted from below and about Gila Bend to the district above, settling with the Pima in the direction of Casa Grande, leaving the Kaveltcadom behind or being replaced by them.

The details are worth pursuing. It must be borne in mind that while Kino traversed the Gila from Casa Grande downstream several times, he is nowhere explicit as to tribal occupation. Fur-

[43] These are by no means all the records from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but are by far the most complete and significant.

[44] Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 170, n. 193, 173.

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ther, his point of view was that of the Pima, as is borne out by the names of the Cocomaricopa settlements, which appear in general to be Piman in form, not Yuman.[45]

Kino reached Casa Grande for the first time in November 1694. He found two rancherías beyond: El Tusonimo, four leagues to the west, and four leagues still farther west, El Coatoydag (San Andres). He does not name the occupants, merely implies that they were Pima, and remarks of two nations farther on (i.e., to the west, to the northwest on Salt River [Rio Azul], and on the Colorado), that "they speak a language very different." He designates them Cocomaricopas and Opas. In November 1697 he observed that six or seven rancherías of Pimas Sobaipuris lay near Casa Grande. At San Andres he spoke with some Cocomaricopas and "even sent them messages," implying that they were not residents of this village which lay in the general vicinity of Sacaton. In September (?) of the following year there came to San Andres Opas and Cocomaricopas, "who are a people of very distinct dress, features, and language, though connected by marriage with the Pimas." So far there is nothing in the evidence to prove that the Maricopa did not live on the Gila between Sacaton and the Salt River junction; on the contrary, since they are mentioned as on the lower Salt, part of their habitat according to native information, they may well have lived in the Sacate–Gila Crossing district. But according to Manje's account, a Pima village (San Bartolomé) was found three leagues above the junction of the Gila and Salt (in this account called the Rio Verde). This point would be Gila Crossing or somewhat to the west; that is, in historic Maricopa territory. We are confronted with two alternatives: either this was an isolated Piman village among the Maricopa (although no other villages are mentioned) or it was not then Maricopa territory. The best interpretation would be that the Maricopa were at the time chiefly resident in the general vicinity of Gila Bend, and near or on the

[45] All the place names given by Kino, Sedelmair, and the Anza party were discussed with Maricopa informants. Beyond suggesting that Kino's Tutto was kwâku'p and Sedelmair's Caborh was kukupu'ɨânyiva'c, none of the names were recognized. They, too, thought the words Piman in origin.

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lower Salt River, but later moved into the Gila Crossing–Sacate district. This is partially confirmed by the entries of October 1700. At the ranchería El Tutto, somewhere near Gila Bend, his party was visited by Indians "from farther up and farther down" who by the context were Cocomaricopa.[46]

The distribution of villages on the lower Gila below Gila Bend coincides exactly with our information. A list of villages and the distances separating them is given twice in the journals.[47] In order downstream they were:

1699	1700
Oyadoibuise (San Felipe y Santiago), west of Salt River	Oyadoibuise, east and up river from El Tutto
Two unnamed villages noted by Manje below Gila Bend	El Tutto, near Gila Bend
Tucsani (San Simón)	Guoydag, 6 leagues west
Vaqui (San Tadeo)	Batki (San Mateo), 7 leagues west
Cuat (San Mateo)	Three unnamed rancherías
Tutumagoidad or Tutum (San Matías), 4 leagues west of Cuat	Tutumagoydag (San Matías), 13 leagues west of Batki

Beyond San Matías "we would be entering the Yuma nation, with whom they were on unfriendly terms." "Various rancherías which had been deserted during the preceding months" were seen in the succeeding fifteen leagues. The first Yumas were now encountered at San Pedro y San Pablo, twenty-seven leagues below San Matías (Manje makes it thirty). From here to the junction with the Colorado was about eighteen leagues.

This gives twenty-six leagues of Cocomaricopa territory from Tutto to San Matías, an interval (partly unoccupied) of twenty-seven or thirty leagues to the nearest Yuma, with the Yuma extending to the Colorado for about eighteen leagues; a total of about seventy-one leagues from Gila Bend to the Colorado. The recorded traverse is too great to assume a direct course: the distance is about 120 miles in an air line. But the proportions 41 (26+15 [the deserted villages]): 12 (27 [or 30]−15):18 fits very

[46] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 128, 172–73, 186, 196, n. 262, 202, 246.

[47] *Op. cit.*, I, 196–97, n. 262, 246–53; cf. II, 207.

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175 361 well with our information. If Tutto was at or near Gila Bend, more than half the distance downstream takes us to the Mohawk Mountains; then comes the unoccupied territory extending slightly less than halfway to the Colorado, that is, to between Wellton and Dome, the known upper limit of the Yuma. The villages cannot be identified beyond this. Tutto seems to have been the principal village and may therefore be our kwâku'p, situated immediately west of the Painted Rock Mountains. The implication of the itinerary of 1700 is that all the Cocomaricopa villages were south of the Gila, which agrees with our information.

101 175 It is noteworthy that Kino ceased to mention the Opas in the later part of his record. It is also clearly implied that under Piman tutelage he designated the Cocomaricopas and Opas separately. Further, the languages of the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and [197] Yuma are said to be one,[48] that is not only Yuman, but specifically of the Yuma-Maricopa division. A possible implication is that the Opas, if they really formed a separate group, may have been the Kaveltcadom.

114 175 361 Sedelmair's information (1744) is brief and vague. He lists a score of Cocomaricopa rancherías within a span of thirty-six leagues downstream from what was apparently Gila Bend, beyond which by forty-five leagues lay the Colorado.

175 [114] The distribution given by Kino is confirmed and our inferences augmented by the information given seventy-five years after him by Garcés, Anza, Font, and Diaz. In May 1774 Anza and Diaz traversed the Gila from its mouth eastward nearly to Casa Grande. In June of the same year Garcés made a detour from Gila Bend to the north and east along the course of the Gila to the same terminal point near Casa Grande. As all other Spanish chroniclers cut off this segment of the river by taking the direct route from the Bend to the Pima villages, his excursion proves of the utmost significance for our purpose. The following year, in November, Anza, Font, and Garcés made the reverse traverse from near Casa Grande to the Colorado.

175 361 On the upstream journey in 1774 Anza reached the first village of the Cocomaricopa six leagues above the easily identifiable Mo-

[48] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

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hawk Range, itself seventeen or eighteen leagues east of the Colorado. This village, San Bernardino, was located on the south bank. Here he remarks "Some of them [Cocomaricopa] live on this river, but most of them dwell in the mountains between the Colorado and the Gila." This may refer only to their absence at the time gathering foodstuffs in the back country. But Garcés came through this hinterland at this time and found it deserted. Five leagues east brought Anza to an abandoned settlement on the north bank at Agua Caliente, still so named. Passing the Painted Rock Mountains after six leagues, he reached in three more San Simón y Judas de Upasoitac (Opasoitac). This was clearly in the vicinity of Gila Bend. "This place is well peopled by these Cocomaricopas, and others who really are the same, although they call them Opas, to which are added now some Págagos or Pimas who have deserted their country on account of the great drought and the still greater famine which is experienced in it." His gloss on his tabulated distances remarks on this as the "last village of the Cocomaricopa on the same Gila River." He now moved directly east, "in order to cut off the bend which the river makes to the north, which is entirely uninhabited": so he remarks, but note below that Garcés found villages there. Thirteen leagues from Gila Bend he reached "the Pima village of Sutaquison, which is maintained permanently on the river." In two leagues more he arrived at Juturitucan (San Juan Capistrano), "the last Pimas on the Gila River." He left the Gila after another two leagues, at a point the same distance below Casa Grande.[49]

Diaz's account of the same journey is but a replica of Anza's. He notes the Cocomaricopa village San Bernardino (seven leagues above the Mohawk Range) as "the first village of the tribe upstream." The region up to this point was uninhabited because of continuous war with the Yuma. A village of the Opas was reached fourteen leagues east and another at eighteen. A league beyond was San Simón y Judas de Upasoitac, "which is a village of the same tribe, although some Pimas ordinarily live in it." "Between the village of San Bernardino and this one of

[49] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 122–27, 235–40.

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Upasoitac, this river and its adjacent watering places are inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas, none of which are different from the Yumas in anything, either in language or in any of their native qualities." After fifteen leagues he arrived at "the first pueblo of the heathen Pimas, called Sutaquison," and at the last Pima village in three leagues more. The Pima were confined to a space of three leagues on both banks of the river, with six villages within this span. Diaz's observations differ from Anza's only in noting the presence of two Opa villages a short distance below Gila Bend.[59]

Three parallel accounts are given for the westward journey down the Gila in November 1775, which followed the route of the previous year. All three set the distance from Casa Grande to the easterly Piman village, Uturituc, at seven leagues. From here to Sutaquison was four leagues (or two), with "two large villages of Pimas" between, or as Font wrote, "two smaller pueblos." Font wrote on Pima occupation of this tract, that "in the district of some six leagues there are five towns, the four above mentioned on this [south] side of the river, and one on the other side which Father Garcés called San Serafino de Nabcúb." It is noteworthy that, unlike Kino, none of these chroniclers leave the implication that Maricopa were living among these Pima. It is of further importance to note that the party spent several days at certain rain pools two leagues to the west of Sutaquison, that is in the vicinity of Pima Butte. In the middle of the nineteenth century this was in the heart of Maricopa territory, but none of the three chroniclers mention any settlements in the vicinity. Sixteen or seventeen leagues after leaving Sutaquison, they reached Opasoitac (Uparsoytac, "the settlement of the Opas") at Gila Bend by the direct route, without noting any signs of occupations in all the intervening territory. "Some villages of Opas," which Anza called Rancherías de San Martín, were reached two short leagues west of Opasoitac, and in four or five more some ranchos (San Diego) at the eastern foot of the Painted Rock Mountains. Anza remarks that from Opasoitac to this place "we have come through continuous villages and signs of

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[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 300–305.

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cultivation." Agua Caliente, on the north bank, was reached in another eight leagues: this year the place held two hundred people. Garcés wrote, "Immediately in this position are the rancherías called San Bernardino, and they are of the same nation" as those above at Gila Bend, or as Font had it, "This place and its district were named San Bernardino del Agua Caliente." The point is that this cannot be the San Bernardino of the eastward journey of 1774, because that was explicitly on the south bank and five leagues downstream. In fact at their next halt seven leagues down from Agua Caliente, Anza wrote, "A little above this place is San Bernardino, last of the habitations of the Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Further, at Agua Caliente Garcés had written, "Here is where ends this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one; though nevertheless some of them are found further down river," presumably at or near the San Bernardino of the previous year. Evidently there were settlements both at Agua Caliente and here five leagues below. Confirming Garcés' remark on this as the western end of Opa-Cocomaricopa territory, Anza remarks at the lower San Bernardino, "all the country from here as far as the Yumas is unpopulated."

Localities from here westward to the Colorado are easily identified. The Mohawk Mountains were eleven and a half leagues below Agua Caliente (Anza) or fifteen (Font and Garcés). Five or six leagues westward was Antelope Hill. Both Font and Garcés note that this was called "metate hill" by the Indians, precisely the name given it by my Maricopa informants. The mouth of the Gila was fifteen to seventeen leagues beyond.[51]

To marshal all the evidence for the position of the Pima and Opa-Cocomaricopa settlements on the river, I present Table I giving the distances traversed in leagues. Obviously the travellers differed in their conception of each day's march or of the length of the league. How far they diverged is exemplified by the total distance from Uturituc (the eastern Pima pueblo) to the Mohawk Mountains: from thirty-five to fifty-one leagues. Font and Garcés either collaborated or copied one another's itinerary. Anza's record of the westward journey of 1775 appeals to me as the most precise: figuring two and two-thirds English statute miles to the Spanish league, it yields admirable results between fixed points when scaled on a map.

[51] *Ibid.*, III, 15–41, 214–24; IV, 34–71; Coues, I, 65–130.

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Maricopa

175 361 Important information on the occupation of the Gila above Gila Bend can be derived from Garcés' account of a detour he made in June 1774.[52] Instead of taking a direct course due eastward from Gila Bend to the Pima villages below Casa Grande as

TABLE I

DISTANCES FROM CASA GRANDE TO THE COLORADO RIVER

114 361 175

	EASTWARD, 1774		WESTWARD, 1775		
	ANZA	DIAZ	ANZA	FONT	GARCÉS
Casa Grande to Uturituc	4	.....	7	7	7
Uturituc to Sutaquison (Casa Blanca)	2	3	2	4	4
Sutaquison to Opasoitac (Gila Bend)	13	15	16	17	17
Opasoitac to San Martín	.....	1	1½±	2—	2
San Martín to San Diego (east of Painted Rock)	.....	4	4	5	5
Opasoitac to Painted Rock	3	.....	.....	.....	...
San Diego to Aritoac (river crossing)	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
San Diego to Agua Caliente	.....	.....	8	8	8
Painted Rock to Agua Caliente	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aritoac to San Bernardino	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to San Bernardino	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to below San Bernardino	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to Mohawk Mountains	.....	.....	.....	15	15
San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains	6	7	.....	.....	.....
Below San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains	.....	.....	4½	.....	.....
Mohawk Mountains to Antelope Hill	.....	.....	5	6+	6
Mohawk Mountains to Colorado River	17(18)	19	.....	.....	.....
Antelope Hill to Colorado River	.....	.....	15	16	17
Uturituc to Mohawk Mountains	35	44	43	51	51
Gila Bend to Colorado River	37(38)	45	45	52	53

175 361 all others had done, he followed the river north from the Bend, east to the Salt River junction, and up its course nearly to Casa Grande. Leaving Uparsoytac (Gila Bend), he found a village called Tugsapi six leagues north, presumably below the present Gillispie Dam. Two leagues north was Tucabi (Tugabi), which by his statement must have been a straggling settlement two and

[52] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 388–89.

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Maricopa

a half leagues in extent. This was presumably in the general vicinity of Hassayampa Creek. Both these places were evidently on the left bank of the Gila. Since he does not state that the people occupying these settlements differed from those of Gila Bend, we may plausibly infer that they were Opa-Cocomaricopa.[53] Still following the south bank, after seven and a half leagues Garcés met people of Sutaquison (the Pima village) gathering sahuaro fruit, and five leagues beyond he reached the Pima villages named below ("three pueblos with many people"). If Sutaquison was in the vicinity of Casa Blanca, as all other records indicate, he met these Pima on Santa Cruz slough midway of Sierra Estrella, that is, in what was later Maricopa territory. Garcés then adds to our knowledge of Pima occupation: on the north side of the Gila a league east of Sutaquison he found a large pueblo called Nacub and in a little more than another league, but on the south side, a "very populous" settlement, Tuburs Cabors. Uturituc was reached a little more than a league beyond. Now he adds an easternmost Pima village (Pitac) three leagues east, which none of the others mention.

To bring this long consideration of observations in 1774–75 to a head, they may be summarized as follows. Pima villages occupied both sides of the Gila from some distance below Casa Grande westward to Casa Blanca and perhaps beyond. There is no mention of encountering Yuman speaking peoples in the district, and more significantly, the region west of Pima Butte, that is, the heart of Maricopa territory in 1850, was unoccupied. Opa and Cocomaricopa held the Gila from below the Salt River junction downstream to San Bernardino, sixteen to nineteen miles above the Mohawk Mountains. Their villages were all on the left bank, with the exception of Agua Caliente, and were concentrated in the fifteen or twenty mile stretch from Gila Bend down to the Painted Rock Mountains. Below the Mohawk Mountains the country was uninhabited until the Yuma were reached near the mouth of the Gila.

All this is as closely confirmatory of Kino's information as one should reasonably expect. The accounts of 1694–1700 and of

[53] Bolton also assumes this.

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Maricopa

1774–75 agree rather precisely for the Gila below Gila Bend. Kino's reference to Yumans "to the northwest on the Rio Azul" (that is from the direction of the Pima villages) should perhaps now be interpreted to mean on the Gila below the Salt junction where Garcés found them. But since Garcés did not traverse the Salt River, it may well be that they were also on its extreme lower course. In any event the Maricopa could have been but a short distance west of their position of the following century.

To return to the identification of the names Cocomaricopa and Opa. The chroniclers of 1774–75 used the terms as though synonymous or at least implied that there was no distinction of moment between them. At Opasoitac (Gila Bend) Anza wrote in 1774, "This place is well peopled by these Cocomaricopa, and others who really are the same, although they call them Opas," and again in 1775, "the tribe of the Opas and Cocomaricopas," in the singular. At the other end of his march he spoke of "San Bernardino, last of the habitations of Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Diaz alone wrote that the district between Opasoitac and San Bernardino was "inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas," mentioning a third people, but Diaz was the most casual of the four chroniclers.

Garcés' manner of reference is especially significant. Twice he wrote, "the Opa nation, or Cocomaricopa, which is the same" and "this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one," as though these were synonyms. But he may have meant to distinguish two divisions of one people, or at least linked groups. Later in his diary he ignores the Opa, referring regularly to the Cocomaricopa.[54] There is, however, an important exception to this: on his return journey (1776) through their settlements he speaks of arriving among "the Cocomaricopas of the Agua Caliente" and later "continued my journey, visiting the rancherias of the Opas." This would seem to make a distinction, with the Opa upstream of the Cocomaricopa. This may also be inferred from Font's statements: he wrote of Opasoitac as a "settlement of the Opas" and of "some villages of Opas" just below.

[54] Note that he refers only to Cocomaricopa in his tabular summary of tribal populations (Coues, II, 443).

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

But at Agua Caliente, "Many Cocomaricopa Indians assembled to see us. They are the same as the Opas, but are distinguished in name by the district they inhabit." Again he remarked, "I may note that the Opas and Cocomaricopas are one and the same tribe." Anza writing in retrospect also makes the distinction: "Ascending the Gila from the junction [with the Colorado], we have a desert for about fifteen leagues, till we come to the first village of the Cocomaricopas, after which come the Opas and Pimas, whose last pueblo must be about fifty leagues from the junction."[55]

Here is conflicting testimony: either the Opa and Cocomaricopa were a single people or they were two tribes identical in language and customs and perhaps occupying somewhat distinct territories. My interpretation is that the natives recognized a distinction between two peoples who may have occupied joint territory (as the Maricopa and their guest tribes did in the following century), and that the Spanish, failing to see how the distinction applied, came finally to state that the Cocomaricopa were below and the Opa above, which may not have been the geographic relation at all. If then there was truly a distinction between the two, and the Cocomaricopa are to be identified with the Maricopa of our day, I do not see that we can avoid the implication that the Opa were the Kaveltcadom.[56]

By the middle of the nineteenth century the lower Gila was abandoned and the Maricopa were found in the position assigned them by native testimony. Emory in 1846 and Bartlett in 1852 found the Gila unoccupied for two hundred miles above its mouth. Emory's testimony is that the Maricopa occupied the Gila valley from a point identifiable as the Maricopa Wells–Sacate district to north of the Salt River.[57] Bartlett found the most westerly Maricopa village a mile or more east of a point

[55] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 124, 238, 301; III, 23, 31; IV, 46, 57; V, 391; Coues, I, 113, 123; II, 436.

[56] The name Opa may be simply the common Yuman stem apa', "man." If it is permissible to identify it in the name of their village Opasoitac, as commonly Upasoitac, this would be confirmation, since the latter (upa) more closely resembles the Yuman pronunciation.

[57] Emory, p. 86.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

later to be known as Maricopa Wells; that is, in the neighborhood of Pima Butte or Sacate. From this point eastward Maricopa and Pima occupation was continuous for twelve or fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila.[58]

"The valley or bottom-land occupied by the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas extends about fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila, and is from two to four miles in width, nearly the whole being occupied by the villages and cultivated fields. The Pimos occupy the eastern portion. There is no dividing line between them, nor anything to distinguish the villages of one from the other. The whole of this plain is intersected by irrigating canals from the Gila, by which they are enabled to control the waters, and raise the most luxuriant crops. At the western end of the valley is a rich tract of grass, where we had our encampment [Maricopa Wells]. This is a mile or more [west] from the nearest village of the Coco-Maricopas. On the northern side of the river there is less bottom-land, and the irrigation is more difficult. There are a few cultivated spots here; but it is too much exposed to the attacks of their enemies for either tribe to reside upon it."

Several unoccupied houses were found on the Salt River about twelve miles above its mouth, i.e., just below Phoenix.

"Francisco [a Maricopa] told us they were used by his people and the Pimos when they came here to fish. He also told us that two years before, when the cholera appeared among them, they abandoned their dwellings on the Gila and came here to escape the pestilence."

This agrees precisely with my information on the location of settlements and fishing stations in the 1850s.

The Kaveltcadom had left the lower Gila and Gila Bend before this day. Emory found at Gila Bend signs of "modern Indian tenements" but the place was unoccupied, as indeed was the whole span to the Colorado River. He wrote:

"We know the Maricopas have moved gradually from the gulf of California to their present location in juxta position with the Pimos. Carson found them, so late as the year 1826, at the mouth of the Gila; and Dr. Anderson, who passed from Sonora to California in 1828, found them, as near as we could reckon from his notes, about the place we are now encamped in [Gila Bend]. The shells we found today were, in my opinion, evidently brought by the Maricopas from the sea. They differ from those we found among the ruins."[59]

[58] *Personal Narrative*, II, 179, 210, 215, 232, 241. Bartlett had excellent opportunity for observation. He followed the Gila closely from its mouth to above Casa Grande, leaving it only between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells. He also made a circuit from Maricopa Wells north to the Salt River, reaching it at a point about twelve miles above its mouth, thence up the Salt to the mountains, and south to the Pima villages.

[59] Emory, p. 89. Carson was a member of his party. Incidentally, Emory is notorious as a careless observer.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai
Kohuana

The testimony is that the lower Gila was occupied until at least 1828, but there is nothing to show with certainty that its inhabitants were Maricopa rather than Kaveltcadom or some other Yuman speaking group. Emory's assertion that the Maricopa moved from the Gulf is pure inference. The evidence of the shells, of course, certifies nothing.

Bartlett also found no settlements on the lower Gila. He was told by a Maricopa that

> "the Cocomaricopas came here not many years before, to escape from the Yumas, with whom they were constantly at war, and by whom they had been greatly reduced in numbers. Their former range was along the valley of the Gila, on the opposite side of the Jornada and toward the Colorado. [The Jornada here referred to is the desert stretch between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells.] Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection. . . . . The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty years since [1820–25], from a point lower down the Gila, where they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and the Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos."[46]

These "Coco-Maricopa" must be the Kaveltcadom. Bartlett must have been confusing their abandonment of the lower Gila with traditions of the Halchidhoma flight from the Colorado about 1825. It is of course quite possible that the Kaveltcadom abandoned their settlements at the time of the Halchidhoma hegira, or immediately after, being then exposed to the Yuma attacks, but they were certainly at Gila Bend about 1835 when Halchidhoma visitors were slain there by the Mohave. The final abandonment of Kaveltcadom territory must therefore have occurred after 1835 and before 1846.

Apparently we have here the origin of the current but erroneous notion that the Maricopa have traditional knowledge of their own former position on the Colorado. There is of course solid linguistic evidence connecting them with the Colorado Yumans, but there is no traditional knowledge that the Maricopa themselves migrated thence. The Kaveltcadom, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai have been indiscriminately called Cocomaricopa with their Maricopa hosts, and their movements

[46] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 221, 262.

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Kohuana Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai

from the lower Gila and the Colorado assigned to the latter.[61] Bartlett himself asserts no more than that the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila, and places the blame for assigning their earlier habitat to the Colorado on Emory. He quotes the latter's affirmation that the Maricopa moved gradually from the Gulf of California, adding "I cannot learn that they ever were on the Gulf."[62] The former position of the Maricopa on the Colorado must remain an inference.

To summarize, after this long excursion into the documentary evidence, we can assert with some confidence that during the eighteenth century the Maricopa were occupying the Gila from the Salt River junction down toward Gila Bend, with the Kaveltcadom below them from Gila Bend to within twenty miles of the Mohawk Range. There may have been Maricopa settled on the extreme lower course of the Salt and even on the Gila immediately above the junction with the Salt, although this is frankly a supposition. At any rate the region of the junction may well have been their fishing and mesquite gathering territory. Some such use may also have been made of the Gila bottoms eastward to Pima Butte. From Gila Bend downstream the two tribes may have occupied the river bottom jointly. By 1825–30 the Maricopa had shifted their locus upstream thirty or forty miles to the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte district. Here they were joined by the Halchidhoma between 1833 and 1838, with the Kohuana and Halyikwamai following in 1838 and 1839. More or less simultaneously with Maricopa occupation of the middle Gila near the Pima, the latter received increments of their own people from the Santa Cruz valley, abandoned by reason of Apache pressure. In 1835–38 the Kaveltcadom were still at Gila Bend, although they may by that time have left the river below Painted Rock. By 1852 all the Kaveltcadom had joined the Maricopa in the Sacate district.

It was the fact that the existence of the Kaveltcadom was

[61] For example, Curtis (II, 81) states that vague Maricopa, Yuma, and Mohave tradition relates that the Maricopa once lived on the Colorado between the Mohave and Yuma, making their way up the Gila in a series of movements. There is nothing to show that the reference is not to the allied tribes rather than to the Maricopa.

[62] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 269.

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hitherto unknown, as much as the name Cocomaricopa, that made possible the assumption that the residents of the lower Gila were Maricopa alone.

We must assume from the Spanish references from the end of the seventeenth century on, that the relations of the Pima and Maricopa were close. There is therefore no reason for assuming that their reciprocal cultural influence dates only from their close proximity in the nineteenth century. In fact, I am very doubtful that there was any great accession of novelties from the Pima in the later days of their association, since my informants implied that most of the traits they had in common were old traits among the Maricopa. This means much for our interpretation of the period and the rapidity with which the Maricopa acquired a Piman gloss. But it must also be borne in mind that the Pima were at least as heavily infiltrated by Maricopa culture, as I shall demonstrate elsewhere.[63]

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The greatest friendships of the Halchidhoma while on the Colorado were with the Pima, the "Mission" Indians (i.e. Cahuilla), Walapai, Cocopa, and of course the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, according to Kutox. We know from other sources of their friendship with the Kohuana and Halyikwamai. Why the Papago were not mentioned is not clear; possibly because they were seen only infrequently when the Halchidhoma were visiting the Gila River peoples. The case of the Walapai is not clear. To be sure, they had an enemy in common, the Mohave,[64] yet the Halchidhoma may not have known the Walapai until they moved northward to Parker. It is difficult to know whether Kutox was not generalizing from a particular case; his own paternal greatgrandfather was Walapai or part Walapai. At any rate, this remote ancestor must have lived among the Halchidhoma, since Kutox carries his sib name.

[63] I have in preparation a paper, entitled "Cultural Relations of the Gila River and lower Colorado Tribes," demonstrating that all the lowland Arizona tribes shared a single culture.

[64] Although the Walapai were not persistently unfriendly to the Mohave (Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, pp. 238, 244).

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Maricopa

Maricopa friendships differed only by reason of their eastern position: they might be weighted as Pima and Papago, Halchidhoma and Kaveltcadom, and Cocopa. Despite the fact that the Pima were their allies and immediate neighbors, especially so in more recent times, the Maricopa had relatively little to do with them. To this day, they know little and care little about the Pima. Nevertheless, they readily speak of the Piman culture as richer than their own, at least in material arts. The fact is, that despite their proximity the Maricopa have absorbed relatively little from the Pima, having had much less to do with them than their constant coupling in the early accounts implies. The Papago were known largely as friends of the Pima and were not often seen.

Maricopa and Halchidhoma shared unremitting warfare with the Yuma, Mohave, Yavapai, and Western Apache. The foci of attack were more properly Yuma and Yavapai. Against the Yuma, the Halchidhoma joined or were joined by the Cocopa, the Maricopa by the Pima. The Yuma attacks in return were participated in by Mohave and Yavapai. Maricopa and Pima made common assault on the Yavapai, and suffered alike from Yavapai and Apache marauders. The shift of the Halchidhoma base to Maricopa territory did not alter the situation. The position of the lesser tribes on the Colorado seems always to have been equivocal; sometimes friendly perforce to Yuma, Mohave, Cocopa, or Halchidhoma; sometimes hostile.

Garcés, who was keenly alive to intertribal relations, summarizes the situation in the late eighteenth century as follows:

> "The Jalchidunes [Halchidhoma] have always been well disposed toward the Cocomaricopas, the Pima Gileños, and all the nations that there are from the Yumas downward, as also toward the Papagos of the north, toward all the Yabipais [the Yumans of upland Arizona collectively] excepting the Yabipais Tejua [the Yavapai proper], and likewise toward the Jequiches and Jenigueches of the sierra who extend to the sea [Cahuilla and Serrano]; being unable ever to reconcile themselves with their enemies, the Jamajabs [Mohave], the Yabipais Tejua, the Chemeguet [Chemehuevi], and the Yumas. . . . . Those of the Rio Gila [Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Pima] are all friends of one another and of the Jalchedunes, but enemies of the Tejua [Yavapai] and Apaches."[45]

[45] Coues, II, 450–53.

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

Little could be learned regarding trade relations. The Maricopa traded cotton blankets with the Papago for horses; from them they also procured a red pigment for coloring pottery. They obtained coiled tray baskets, used for winnowing and parching seeds, from the Pima, and tobacco seed, at least, from the Halchidhoma on the Colorado. The last also provided the red paint used for facial decoration, which they in turn had obtained from the Walapai.

A little information can be gleaned from Spanish sources. Font wrote (1775) that the Opa of Opasoitac (Gila Bend) had some blankets of "black wool, with white stripes, which they obtain from El Moqui [Hopi]." Among the Yuma he saw some of the same, "which the Jalchedunes and other friends obtain from the Moquinos" and again "which they have been able to acquire through the Cocomaricopas and Jalchedunes." The Halchidhoma as source of this supply was again noted: "In virtue of this peace some Jalchedunes came down to the junction of the rivers, bringing their Moqui blankets and other things."[66] That the Halchidhoma should have these is intelligible enough, since there was a well defined trade from the Hopi pueblos to at least the Walapai and Mohave.[67] But surely the Maricopa had no direct contact with any of the Pueblos, hence we must assume that they also obtained them from their Halchidhoma visitors from the Colorado.

Maricopa contact with the Halchidhoma was by way of the direct route cross-country from the lower Gila to the Ehrenberg–Parker district on the Colorado. Garcés wrote (1774) at Tugsapi, an Opa-Cocomaricopa settlement near Gillispie Dam above Gila Bend: "Here they said that the best road to the Jalchedunes led out from there, and that they went in three or four days according to their pace." He had himself just previously accompanied some Halchidhoma from Agua Caliente by a more southerly route northwestward to their home in the vicinity of Ehrenberg.[68] My information is in agreement. But they did not ordinarily take the route northwest from the Gillispie Dam–Hassayampa Creek region, because Yavapai lived on the lower course of that stream. It was preferable to leave the Gila at the Mohawk Mountains or even as far downstream as Dome, since the coun-

[66] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 52, 73, 103, 109.

[67] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 244.

[68] Bolton, *op. cit.*, II, 376–88.

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175 487 try they would then traverse was uninhabited, probably for lack of water.

[648] Visits of the Maricopa to the Cocopa were by way of the Gila to the Mohawk Mountains (the limit of friendly Kaveltcadom territory), thence directly across the desert southwestward to avoid the Yuma. It took six or seven days afoot from Sacate to Yuma and two days longer to the Cocopa. This means thirty or more miles a day.

From the Mohawk Mountains the course was southward across a big mountain containing a spring, called kuhwl'tc, thence southwestward across a sandy desert. In this desert was a second spring, called xamîlkwlθau', "lofty water" (Tinajas Altas?),[69] distant from the first by a day, a night, and the morning of the second day. From there they went westward to another spring, xacâpa'-kwîn,ako'ʀâc, "little wells"; thence west to the Cocopa, who lay two days journey downstream from the Yuma.

[648] A visit to the Indians of Sonora, among whom the Halchidhoma were living in 1833, was by way of the desert east of Sacaton. It was always a year before travelers returned to the Gila, although the place was said to lie only three days foot journey southeast of Tucson.

175 582 The Maricopa seem to have been markedly conservative in the matter of marriage with other tribes. For one thing, they objected strenuously to having their girls marry into sibless tribes. After 1839 and the appearance of the mixed community, the Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai married almost wholly among themselves and with the Kaveltcadom. It seems reasonably clear that marriages with the Pima were wholly or almost wholly confined to the last century: the immediate

[69] Tinajas Altas is almost certain to have been the objective since it was the principal camping place in the region. From Kino's day (*ca.* 1700) on, it was the pivotal point on the route from Caborca in Sonora to the Yuma. Kino was, of course, following an aboriginal line of march. From Tinajas Altas the Maricopa must have used the only practicable route to the Cocopa, that followed by Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 245, map), westward to Laguna Prieta in the desert, thence southwesterly to the vicinity of Colonia Lerdo. Gifford learned from the Cocopa that their route to the Maricopa brought them first to near the Fortuna mine in the Gila Mountains, that is, somewhat north of the Maricopa route, thence to the Mohawk Mountains and Gila Bend (Cocopa Ms). It is more probable that Tinajas Altas was meant than Fortuna, since Lumholtz records no Papago camp at the latter place.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

Pima ancestors of those credited with Pima blood are remembered. "The Pima were too far from the Maricopa to intermarry with them much: they did not see much of them." They did not marry the Papago to the south. A few Papago living in the mountains nearer the Colorado, however, married with the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. Some of the present-day population are descended from a Yavapai woman captive; it is barely possible from more than one.

Contacts with Spaniards and Mexicans before the American occupation of the territory are little remembered. Their settlements were at a considerable distance, at Tucson and southward, and with these there was slight trade. Chiefs may not have existed or been of much importance until they were appointed, or received documents of authority from Spanish and Mexican officials. Two Mexicans are known to have accompanied the Maricopa on a raid against the Yuma before Kutox was born (in 1847).

An incident of uncertain meaning was reported by Kutox. When he was about four years old (1851 or 1852), "the first Spaniard" came and went on to the coast (?). He brought back with him from the Colorado the head chief of the Kamia, named kwĭcĭnyă'tăo'ră. They went "on top" of Pima Butte, calling all the local Indians together, and said they were going to talk to them. The Maricopa and Kohuana crowded around this chief and killed him. The Spaniards and Americans who were there fled the same night. "We were proud of scaring away the Americans." The Americans acquired this territory at that time.

Americans were first seen in the Halchidhoma village when Kutox was three (1850). (They began to come in numbers following the discovery of gold in California in 1849.) Actually individual trappers and parties had been passing throughout the quarter century preceding. One trapper, a friend of the Maricopa, was killed by Yavapai at his home west of the Gila Bend Mountains. The best known was a beaver trapper living nearby, who brought the Mohave to them to make peace in 1863. He was known only as pĕngwĭtcsa', "beaver eater." Kutox gave a circumstantial account of the massacre of the Oatman family when he was about six (1853). The actual date is 1851.[70] He also remembered a body of American soldiery coming through "a year after" the Yuma raid of 1857. This may have been the California column of 1862.[71] Episodes of the Civil War period were remembered: in 1862–63 a white trader at Casa Blanca was captured by Texans, and the soldiers fought near Tucson.

Mexicans and Americans were called xiko'[72] or more literally ipahama'l,

[70] Stratton, *Captivity of the Oatman Girls.*

[71] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 47.

[72] A folk-etymology was offered, deriving the word from the cooing of doves which the whites' language was said to resemble. The word occurs in other Yuman tongues: Mohave hiko, hiiko, haiko (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 770); Southeastern Yavapai hako (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 182); Havasupai hai'ku. Font (1776) recorded the Yuma form as Jéco (Assende Jéco, "one white man")

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

175 648 "white man." Today, following the solecism of uneducated whites, ẋiko' is reserved for Americans, but nevertheless a Mexican is called ẋiko'ẋan, "real white man." They may also be called, like members of a foreign tribe, pipakwa'm, "foreign man" (as differentiated from ȧhua, "enemy").

[186] The Maricopa attitude toward the Halchidhoma was one of amused tolerance. The Maricopa thought them a queer lot: any unusual action was explained, "Oh, he is an Halchidhoma." [101] From this the latter took their name, derived, according to Mrs. Redbird, from xalyaðð'mbȧg, "people with queer ways." This may, of course, be a folk-etymology. A number of tales were told to illustrate the point, which, by the way, serve also to indicate the character of their humor.

539 When the Halchidhoma lived on the Colorado, they would not protect themselves. If an enemy arrived and someone gave the alarm, they would remain in their houses, saying, "Well, it is not right to fight just one or two." So they were easily killed.

The Halchidhoma would never protect themselves by gathering their forces at once. That is why they were killed off.

One of them stole into the Yuma meeting house unrecognized, and heard them planning to fight. A second night he went in but fell asleep. When he went in he put mud all over his hair [like the Yuma]. He slept until mid-morning. When he rose, he did not know what to do, for it was broad daylight. A family was eating outside, so he went back, and arranged his hair to fall over his face. Then he walked out of the house slowly. They thought he was a Yuma, but when he had almost reached the nearby bushes, they realized he was a foreigner. They called to each other, "An enemy!" But he ran off as fast as he could. This man always did such funny things.

Two young Halchidhoma went to war against the Yuma. A little before sunset, the Yuma were eating. There was a willow tree standing near them. One of the Halchidhoma climbed into it and imitated a screech owl. The other hid in the arrowweeds close by. One of the Yuma said, "I am going to hit that baby screech owl," and threw a big stone at the man in the tree. It hit him on the head, and down he crashed. The man in hiding heard him fall and burst out laughing instead of running away. The man who fell ran as fast as he could, but his companion laughed so hard that the Yuma overtook and killed him.

An Halchidhoma was hiding in the bushes near the Yuma. He overheard two Yuma who were playing hoop and pole. One had bet a horse. The other announced he had won it and had already put beads around its neck and a rope halter. He described precisely where it was. So the Halchidhoma stole away and ran to the horse, got it, and circling around, rode home with it.

The Maricopa say the Halchidhoma had such queer ways. One of them might

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[171] (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 497). It appears in the languages of Shoshoneans adjacent to the Yumans: Chemehuevi haiku, Kitanemuk aiaikikam, Vanyume haiko-y-am (Kroeber, *Shoshonean Dialects*, p. 73).

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Maricopa

ary, with rains again in April and September. They depended wholly on the inundations and on sub-surface seepage, true irrigation being unknown. Irrigation ditches first came into use, according to Kutox, only when he was a small boy (1850–55).

This late date for the introduction of ditch irrigation among the Maricopa may not be correct, although there is nothing flatly contradictory in the documentary record. An extensive system of ditches was observed by Font and Garcés among the Pima of the Casa Grande–Casa Blanca district as early as November, 1775. They describe the fields divided by fences of poles, a main ditch surrounding the whole with laterals to individual fields, and a rudimentary dam of logs and branches to raise the Gila to the ditch level. Bartlett's observations in 1852 may apply only to the Pima, although it is unlikely, or may record the Maricopa use soon after the introduction of ditches. He wrote, "The whole of this plain [occupied by the Pima and Maricopa] is intersected with irrigating canals from the Gila, by which they are enabled to control the waters, and raise the most luxuriant crops." On the other hand, inundations alone were relied on at Gila Bend (Opasoitac, the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa settlement). Font wrote, "These Opas Indians support themselves from their fields of wheat, maize, and calabashes, and apparently they do not eat so much pechita and tornillo [mesquite] as the Gileños [Pima]. Because they live near their fields, the settlement or rancherías embrace a stretch about a league long on the bank of the river. From it they do not run irrigating ditches, because from near the end of the Sierra de Comars [Sierra Estrella], near the Laguna del Hospital, the Gila river and the Assumpción [Salt River] come united; and since the channel is very wide and carries a large amount of water now, and more during the time of the floods, for then it spreads out a long distance and waters a large area of level land, by means of this irrigation they obtain their harvests." At the same time and place Garcés observed, "Here the Indians raise all sorts of grain, and regularly two crops each year, whether the season be good or bad; but apparently an acequia can be brought from the river," implying that none were in use there. The greater volume of water below the mouth of the Salt made it possible to rely on inundation alone. It may be that the Maricopa preserved this traditional type of farming for a time after moving eastward to the neighborhood of the Pima.[8]

An individual's land holdings were in a continuous strip, not in scattered patches. Only when he was living away from home temporarily, did he clear and plant a small field elsewhere. The land he occupied was of his own choosing or inherited from his father. There was no distribution by allotment, as recorded for the Pima,[9] nor had the chief any voice in the matter. "He did not

[8] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 43, 51; Coues, I, 107, 116; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 232.

[9] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 82. We may suspect that this is not an aboriginal custom of the Pima, but dates, like a similar Maricopa usage, from the day when these tribes were located on their reservations.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

Maricopa
Halchidhoma

As between Halchidhoma and
Maricopa, the former, situated on the banks of the Colorado, 226
were undoubtedly greater fishermen.[19] The information which follows relates specifically to the Halchidhoma in their Colorado River home. Maricopa habits were identical.

Native statements of the amount of fishing are borne out by Kino, who wrote of the middle Gila (February, 1699): "All its inhabitants are fishermen, and have many nets and other tackle with which they fish all the year, sustaining themselves with abundant fish and with their maize, beans, and calabashes, etc. . . . . In some places they gave us so much and so very good fish that we gave it as a ration to the men, just as beef is given where it is plentiful."[20] [175]

The Maricopa took fish mostly in the Santa Cruz slough at the northern foot of the Sierra Estrella. They also fished about the confluence of the Gila and Salt, and up the Salt to the vicinity of Phoenix. This point was, of course, close to enemy territory, hence many men were killed while fishing. Fish were few in the Gila except in times of flood. The fish of these streams were chiefly chub, a soft fleshed, bony fish. The Halchidhoma on the Colorado also caught a very large fish, which may have been the "Colorado salmon." [136]

Three methods were commonly employed for fishing on the Colorado. A small net like a rabbit net (and like it called ca'a'k) was used when the river was high and muddy so that one could not see fish in it. It was held spread out between the hands, aided by a little stick at each side threaded through the meshes, so that the fisherman might reach down and catch at a chance. Another method was by diving to look into beaver holes and the like under the bank where fishes took refuge when it was cold. One man after another dove down, catching the fish in his hands. A third was with large nets (called davi'tc), six to eight feet long and a yard deep. These were very valuable since it was hard to spin so much cotton cord. A pole was fastened at each end, so that it could be held vertically by two men who dragged it through shallow water. Several such nets might be dragged side by side. Other men would walk through the water scaring the [227] [227]

[19] The Mohave also fished more than they hunted (Kroeber, *Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave*, p. 276).

[20] Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 195, 197.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Kohuana Maricopa
Halyikwamai Halchidhoma

CHAPTER III

HOUSES

342 The Maricopa dwelling was dome-shaped, markedly flattened on top, and earth-covered. It was built on a central rectangular frame of posts linked by rafters, surrounded by a circular wall of poles bent over to be tied to the rafters, thatched, and dirt-
[171] covered. The construction was identical with that of the Pima and Papago and different from the earth-covered, but rectangular, hip-roofed houses of Mohave and Yuma. Halchidhoma houses, and possibly those of the two other remnant groups, Kohuana and Halyikwamai, were identical with the Maricopa, at least since they joined the last on the Gila. Kutox insisted that
115 he had been told that still earlier the Halchidhoma houses on the
• 175 Colorado River had been of the same form. (He knew the rec-
342 tangular Mohave house.) But it is more than probable that he was mistaken since the known house forms of the lower Colorado (Mohave, Kamia, and Yuma) were all rectangular. Garcés in May 1774 remarked that the Halchidhoma "have better and larger houses than any I have seen" among the Yuma and on the Gila.[1]

177 The modern houses in the Maricopa community are for the most part of the
342 Mexican jacal type: a rectangular structure having walls formed of posts at short intervals, with adobe between, held in place and protected against the wash of rain by horizontal ribs of the inner wood of the giant cactus nailed in place. The roof is flat, consisting of beams, sticks, brush and dirt (Pl. III, *A*, *C*). A solitary house of different construction was the home of the last surviving Kohuana in 1930 (Pl. III, *B*). It has the same wall posts and roof. The walls are thatched, however, with thick layers of arrowweed, held in place by horizontal willow branches inside and out, tied together through the thatch at intervals. This was
[171] said to be in imitation of the Mexicans, but the form is known to Pima and Papago.[2] There are now no houses of the ancient type.

34 Anciently house constructions included the flat-domed, earth-covered dwelling; the meeting house, which was but a larger

[1] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 386.

[2] Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, p. 147.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

edition of the dwelling; an open-sided, flat-roofed shade; a small structure resembling a gable roof set directly on the ground, built as needed for a storage house, for purification rites, for a girl's puberty rite, and as a menstrual hut. A small hemispherical sweat lodge was also built. Sometimes a temporary kitchen was made by erecting a screen of weeds to windward of the cooking place.

Housebuilding was man's work alone, whether a dwelling, storehouse, or meeting house: the women did not assist. A man was helped by his male friends and relatives in the construction of his dwelling. In building a meeting house, all the men of the village were engaged and built it in a day.

Dwellings stood indefinitely, until some one of the inmates died, when they were torn down and burned. This also happened on the infrequent occasions when relatives who had married were mourned as dead. A new house was erected elsewhere, so that the community was constantly crawling away from its original location. So great was the decimation from disease and warfare during the past century, that the shifting went on with some rapidity despite the localizing ties of available water supply and tillage. The movement may have been somewhat less in earlier times, but there is no doubt that the habit of shifting the locus is old and ingrained. Houses did not suffer much from the elements; rainfall is slight and confined largely to the spring, snow practically never falls. The dirt covering of the house needs no renewal; at most, it must be patched here and there.

The size of the dwelling naturally depended on the number of inmates it was intended to house. An average dwelling was about eighteen to twenty feet in diameter, larger houses perhaps twenty-five feet: Bartlett (1852) says fifteen to twenty-five feet.[3] It was built on level ground, no excavation being made.

For the ordinary dwelling, four cottonwood posts were set in the ground at the corners of a square, measuring nine or ten feet. These stood as high as a man could reach, about seven or eight feet, so that he could work at the ridge. (It must be remembered that these people are quite tall.) Yet Bartlett wrote, "These

[3] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 234.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Everyday clothing for both sexes was quite scanty. A man wore a breechclout, a woman a fringed skirt with brief aprons beneath; young children went naked. A cape of rabbit-skin or a cotton blanket was thrown over the shoulders against the cold. Hats were unknown, and sandals used only on journeys. So far as is known Maricopa and Halchidhoma had identical clothing and adornment. Scanty clothing and the bare foot habit aligns these tribes with Californian and Basin peoples. On the other hand, while the woman's fringed skirt is Californian, the breechclout is not, but aligns with other Southwestern peoples and the east.

Garcés stated of the Halchidhoma in 1776, "It must be observed that these Jalchedun Indians are the best dressed [of the Colorado River tribes], not only in such goods as they themselves possess, but also in such as they trade with the Jamajabs [Mohave], Geniguechos [Serrano], Cocomaricopas, Yabipais [Yumans of upland Arizona generally], and Moquis, obtaining from these last mantas, girdles, and a coarse kind of cloth (sayal), in exchange for cotton, of which they raise much." Previously (1774) he had written, "The majority of them go dressed with blankets and blue cloth from Moqui and the Pimería."[1]

In 1744 Sedelmair simply observed of the Cocomaricopa, "The women all go honestly garbed, some with petticoats of cotton or deerskin; most covered from the waist to the knees with inner bark of the willow, of which, pounded and prepared, they make a sort of petticoat."[2]

The people of Gila Bend (Kaveltcadom, Maricopa, or both) were described by Font in November 1775 as going "dressed in their blankets of cotton and likewise others of black wool, with white stripes, which they obtain from El Moqui [Hopi]." Very significantly he added, "Here we began to see the women with little skirts such as the Yumas wear, which they make from the inner bark of cottonwood and willows. This, with a deerskin which they tied and wear from the waist down, is their attire. The men go somewhat covered with blankets." Just previously he had observed of the Pima below Casa Grande: "Of the sayal they make their cotton breeches, and those who did not have breeches supply their place with a blanket gathered up and tied, while the women cover themselves

[1] Coues, II, 423; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 386.

[2] Sedelmair, p. 851.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

with deerskin." The same substitute for breechclouts was observed by Bartlett, who in the summer of 1852 remarked that "the dress of the Coco-Maricopa and Pimos is the same. . . . . The men in general go naked, except the breechclout. A few, however, are provided with their native blankets of large size, which they fold and throw over their shoulders in the manner of the Mexicans. Some fasten them around their waists in graceful folds, letting the ends fall to their knees; then drawing a cord between their legs and attaching it to their waists, their garment resembles a capacious pair of pantaloons. I suppose that all are provided with cotton blankets; but, owing to the almost incessant heat of the day, they seldom wear them. At night, when cool, these constitute their sole covering."[3]

It is doubtful that the men ever went wholly naked.[4] While none of my informants had witnessed truly aboriginal conditions, Last Star believed that in earlier times, say in his father's day, men never went without at least a breechclout, not even old men.

It must be borne in mind that mid-winter on the Gila is quite cold. Yet the Maricopa did not carry torches to warm themselves in the manner of the lower Colorado tribes, as attested by Alarcon and other Spanish writers.[5] When travelling, the Maricopa would scrape ashes into a hole, covering these with dirt, to lie on for warmth.

The man's breechclout was a woven strip of willow bark, less than a foot wide, hung fore and aft over a belt. The pendent flaps hung to the knees in front, to the upper calf behind. Some had only the central portion woven, that which passes between the legs, and the ends hanging in fringes. According to Kutox the clout was woven on a horizontal loom: a continuous warp passed to and fro over the loom bars, with willow strings as wefts twined across at intervals of one and a half inches. Last Star's information is rather to be trusted: that the strip was woven of bark strands in checkerboard weave, without the use of a loom. A specimen he made illustrates this (Plate IV, *a*).[6] The belt was

[3] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 49, 52, 53; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 229; cf. I, 452.

[4] Cf. the Yuma (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 92).

[5] Sedelmair implied that the custom was in vogue on the several rivers he traversed in 1744, among them the Gila, but one cannot be certain that he was not generalizing from what he saw on the Colorado River (Sedelmair, p. 851).

[6] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19077.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

a stout willow bark cord rolled on the thigh. This was tied at one side at the hip. Belts of human hair, their own or enemies', known to the Yokuts and in southern California,[7] were not used. 291

The woman's fringed skirt was also of willow bark. It descended to mid-calf, hanging free in a thick bushy mass covering the thighs as fully as the front and buttocks. In other words it was in no sense two aprons as among the generality of Basin and Californian peoples. The thighs were covered at all times.[8] A belt, a cord of this bark rolled on the thigh, formed a foundation over which one end of each strand was doubled. In a specimen[9] made by Last Star (Pl. IV, *b*) these strands are held in place by two willow bark cords twined through them immediately below the belt or foundation cord. At each end the twined cords are crossed and tied to the belt-foundation in a square knot. By this twining the bark strands are pulled together as closely as possible. Kutox described an alternative method for fastening them: a cord sewed through them close to the belt cord. Since informants spoke of the skirt as woven on a belt-foundation, it may well be that several such strands were placed close to the belt. At least, the fringes hung free in a bushy mass, neither twisted, rolled, nor knotted together. These strips of willow bark were narrow, string-like, not broad like those seen among the lower Colorado tribes. Women did not use an additional belt to secure their skirts.

Under the skirt was worn a little apron in front and another behind. These were fabrics of cottontail rabbit skin or fine willow bark closely woven, about ten inches wide, sixteen or more inches long. These correspond to the small under-apron worn by the Havasupai women.[10] [281] [171]

Bartlett, on the other hand, mentioned only skirts of cotton cloth. "The women fold the smaller blankets or other cloths, and pass them around their loins, letting them hang to their knees. They are sometimes fastened with one of the 175 291

[7] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 840.

[8] In contrast, I was told, Yuma women's skirts were scanty on the outside of the thighs.

[9] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19078.

[10] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 188.

29 [175] belts before mentioned [woven bands, three or four inches broad], but are generally kept in place by simply tucking one end in."[21] Font, as we noted above, saw skin skirts in use as well.

28 29 Robes used in winter were rabbit skin capes and cotton blankets. The latter were never cut nor woven with a slit, poncho-like. Bartlett and Font mention only cotton and woolen blankets. The rabbit skin cape (kwĭlŭ'l), made by both Maricopa and Halchidhoma, was rectangular and came only to the waist or a little below. (When plenty of skins were available, this was made longer and served as a blanket as well. But such blankets were seldom used; pelts never.) The rabbit skins were cut spirally into strips, which were wound along thin sticks so as to dry as spiral cords. Old women made these capes. The worker tied one end of a rolled willow bark cord to her toe and the other end around her waist, to serve as a taut foundation for the fabric. One end of each skin strip was lapped over this cord: when the strip was long, it was doubled back to pass over the cord again. These strips were then fastened by a second cord, set close to the foundation cord, which was wound once around each successive strip and its short lapped end. At intervals of a hand's span other cords were twined through the pendent strips parallel to the foundation cord.

[115] [286] A "woven" (probably twined) willow bark robe was also worn, according to Kutox. Last Star emphatically denied its existence. It was rectangular, not square; a span in length, and hung almost to the ankles behind. Loose ends of the fabric tied together in front of the breast served to hold it on, no belt being used. Those of men and women were alike.

291 Little children wore nothing. When they were seven to nine years old, the breechclout and bark skirt were adopted. Somewhat earlier a little rabbit skin blanket might be tied about their middles, but such covering was given girls rather than boys. Bartlett remarked, "Although the men and boys go naked, I never saw a girl, however young, without clothes around its hips similar to those worn by the women."[22]

292 [484] Sandals were worn by both sexes only when travelling. At

[21] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 224, 228.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

Bartlett's observations on hairdress among Pima and Maricopa confirm my information. "Nothing is worn on the head [by women], nor is the hair ever tied up. In front it is cut off square across the eyebrows; the rest is suffered to hang loosely over the ears, neck, and about half way down the back, affording a protection to these parts from the intense heat of the sun. . . . . The head-band is worn by nearly all the men gracefully put on in several folds, with the braided ends hanging down on their shoulders. They also have a large woolen cord, from half an inch to an inch in diameter, of different colors, which they use as a head ornament, twining it around the hair. . . . . The men wear their hair long, never cutting it except across the eyebrows, down to which it hangs, and thus partially protects the eyes. When loosed, their hair reaches to their knees; but usually it is clubbed up in a large mass on their backs. Their earlocks either hang loose, or are braided in several strands, with little ornaments of bone, tin, or red cloth attached to them. But the decoration of their heads with the bands of which I have spoken, forms the most picturesque part of their costume. They have a singular practice of filling their hair with clay; so that when dry it resembles a great turban." He also described the hairdress of a war party: "Some had them [their head dresses] plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular of their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[17]

Font declared the coiffure of the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa of Gila Bend the same as that of the Pima, which he described as follows: "The coiffure which the men practice with their hair is peculiar. They take a woolen cord, thin like the finger and long like a halter rope. Doubling it up they insert it in the hair. With the long end they tie it together and twist it over the head from the left side to the right, and then secure it with the loose end, giving it one or two turns around the head. In this way they carry on their heads a crest like a crown, in which they insert their feathers, little sticks, and other ornaments. The women wear their hair hanging down their backs and over their ears, banging it in front even with the eyes or the eyebrows."[18] I interpret his description of men's hairdress as a band twined into and wound around a mass of braids, themselves wound around the head.

Infants of both sexes had their hair singed all over the head with a little firebrand. This was done only by a person having nice thick hair, presumably so that the child's hair would also grow well. When a boy was two years old, a man who knew how was requested to trim it. He singed it short on the crown in a counter-clockwise spiral, leaving the forelock to be cut off at the

[17] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 216, 228–30.

[18] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 49, 52; cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 159.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwamai

tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfactory results. It would seem that others were at least equally prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the directors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps, war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities.

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Sumîl,a'm, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering old age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838–39), Kutox was uncertain.[1] At about the same time Malai', a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

[1] Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

to join in drinking: they had joined in battle, now they would be together drinking. Intoxication and incitement, with their proximity to the mountains while gathering the fruit, led them to set out at once against the Yavapai.

Further, Russell's Pima annals indicate conflicts rather generally distributed through the year with the greater number in spring and summer. Thus, the Yuma came against the Maricopa in October, 1833, the autumn of 1842, and in the summer of 1843 and 1857. My own information is that the Mohave raided Gila Bend in midwinter (1835?). While this tells nothing of the time their own parties set out, it at least indicates when Yuma and Mohave might be expected. Pima and Maricopa were in much the same situation respecting raids of the Yavapai and Apache and their own retaliating attacks. The Pima annals yield the following where the season is identifiable. The Apache-Yavapai came down in spring five times, in summer the same, in the autumn once, in winter twice. Pima attacks on them, either alone or with Maricopa or Papago allies, were in spring once, summer twice, and winter twice. Bartlett saw a Maricopa party set out in July, 1852.

Dress for battle was no more than everyday wear: breechclout and sandals. Older men coiled the long braids that hung on back and breast around the head, confining them with a headband. They sometimes let them hang full length until the enemy was neared, then bound them about the crown with one braid, or, like younger men, tied the ends of the braids together as they hung down the back. I am not certain that war paint differed from that on gala occasions. This included a mask-like black stripe across the eyes and horizontal lines in white across the long back hair. Similarly, the feather headdress may have been only the everyday one: a bit of eagle down or an eagle feather pendent by a short cord from the back hair. A feather bonnet, a cap with eagle feathers projecting sidewise and vertically, was worn by some to indicate their bravery, but this also was gala dress.[10]

A war party was observed by Bartlett in July, 1852. "Such as had their own cotton blankets, placed them around their bodies in folds, and over this wound

[10] See pp. 100, 157.

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175 726 [411] Bartlett saw a party set out against the enemy north of the Salt River in July 1852. "Their arms were solely the bow and arrow: most of them had a skin quiver hung across their backs; though a few carried their arrows in their girdles." And in speaking of Pima-Maricopa armament in general, he wrote, "The only weapon used by these tribes is the bow and arrow. The short club of the Yumas and the long lance of the Apaches I never saw among them. The constant use of this weapon has rendered them excellent marksmen. Even the boys are very expert in the use of it."[25]

726 [262] Moving northward toward the mountains, they would start out slowly and camp hidden in the thickets of the Salt River bottom. During the night the journey was resumed, bringing them near the enemy toward dawn. There they would rest all day. Late in the afternoon they moved to the actual attack. Only a little ground parched wheat was carried for provisions. Rabbits might be killed on the way; these were roasted if it was safe.

726 787 [276] A clairvoyant was always included in the party; one who had dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote. While they were resting in the mountains, an older man would ask him to locate the enemy. Everyone must be quiet: the horsemen would lead their horses aside. The clairvoyant, standing beside a fire in the center of the circle of seated men, proceeded to smoke four cigarettes. By the time he had finished smoking the first, he thought he was lifted off the ground a little. With the second and third, he was still higher, and when the fourth was finished, he dropped as though dead. After a few minutes he sat up. The man who had requested his aid now lit a cigarette to give him. The clairvoyant would then tell how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain to reveal the location and numbers of the enemy; had told him from which direction to approach, how easily he would find and kill them. The warriors then set off, led by this man.

726 727 When they reached the enemy, all rushed forward to see who would kill the first enemy. If the enemy were surprised asleep, everyone in the camp was killed, three or four families. They did not look on a slain enemy's face any more than was necessary. As soon as they knew he was dead, they faced toward home, with their backs turned to the corpse and to the mountains, which were also conceived as enemies.[26] Apparently they were quite

[25] *Personal Narrative*, II, 217, 237.

[26] See p. 253.

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people. Some people would pity them; those who reared them were kind; others outside the family might abuse them. But abuse ceased and their foreign origin was forgotten after these boys and girls had married Maricopa. Several Maricopa now living are known to have Yavapai blood, possibly all derived from a single captive ancestress.

A grown girl was captured from the Apache [Yavapai?]. Her owners treated her exactly as their own daughter. She rode with us against the Apache, showing the way. When she first arrived she was unintelligible, but by the time she was grown she could speak Maricopa and Pima.

Captives were collectively known as n,ixu'alyacðu'm, "——— taken be mistreated" (n,ixu', meaningless ?; alyac, "to mistreat," as by throwing dirt; ðu'm, "to take"); a single captive, n,ixu'-alyaðau'. A captive who had been kept for a long time was called n,ixu'alyikω'ʀ̂c, "old captive" (from n,ikω'ʀ̂, "old," "ancient").[20]

[20] It seems probable that the last is the original of the term for captives used in the Spanish documents, *nixoras* (*niforas*). By its context the word seems to have been derived from the Yuman tongues. Font (1775) wrote: "They [the Yuma] usually . . . . try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from." But while here the word appears Sonoran, hence presumably Piman, he corrects this impression later (see below). Anza, for his part, wrote as though the Nixoras constituted a separate tribe: thus, in enumerating the personnel of the expedition of 1775, he listed "five interpreters of the Pima, Yuma, Cajuenchi, and Nifora languages," and in a letter of December, 1775, "This tribe [Cocomaricopa?], together with the preceding tribes and the Halchedunes, Niforas, Cahuenches, and others." But Font specifically corrects this: "I asked him [Anza] to tell me how he understood the entry which he knew he had made in his diary, that is to say, 'five interpreters for five tribes,' for I did not find more than three, and four at the most, counting as a servant of his an interpreter of the Pima tribe. . . . . The fact is that in order to heap up the salaries he had listed one as an interpreter of the Nixora tribe, though there is no such tribe; for in the Pimería they call Nixoras the Indians whom the tribes of the interior in their wars capture amongst themselves, and whom afterwards the Yumas and Pápagos bring to El Altar and other places to sell as captives or slaves, no matter what tribe they may belong to." As a matter of fact, Anza nowhere else wrote of the Nixoras as a tribe. Garcés several times used the name as a tribal designation, but with vagueness; he finally assigned "Niforas or Cuilsnivors or Naxi" to those Yavapai (or better upland Yumans) living northeast of the Halchidhoma. But there is no conviction to be derived from his usage that this was actually a tribal name (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 382; III, 2; IV, 102, 513; V, 305).

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
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Education could not devote a portion of their means to a more worthy object, than to send teachers and mechanics among this interesting people before they become contaminated by intercourse with the whites, and the seeds of evil are sown, which, when ripened, will exert the same baneful influence upon them as they have upon all other aboriginal tribes, leading to their degradation and final extinction. They will be found willing pupils, having expressed a great desire to be taught to read, and to obtain a knowledge of the mechanic arts.

Among the Indians visited by Coronado and Marco de Niza, about the middle of the sixteenth century, in their extensive journeys through the regions between the Rio Grande and the Pacific, although it is certain that the former crossed the Gila, I am unable to discover any allusion to the Pimos, or to the district occupied by them. In the diary of an expedition made by the ensign Juan Mateo Mangi, who accompanied Father Kino, in the year 1697, after visiting the Casa Grande (of which I shall hereafter speak), he says: "On the margin of the river, distant one league from the Casa Grande, we found a town in which we counted one hundred and thirty souls."* The author continues: "Having traversed four leagues, we arrived at the town of Tusonimon, which is so named from a great heap of horns, from the wild or sylvan sheep, which appears like a hill; and from the number that

* I am indebted for this extract to Mr. Schoolcraft's valuable work on the Indian Tribes, vol. iii., p. 301. It is from a manuscript in the archives of the City of Mexico, from which it was copied by Buckingham Smith, Esq., Secretary of the United States Legation.

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there are of the animals, they make the common subsistence of the inhabitants. From what can be seen of the highest of these houses, there appears to be a country of more than a hundred thousand hastas in extent.*

"The heathen Indians received us with jubilee, giving of their provisions to the soldiers; and we counted two hundred persons, who were gentle and affable. Remaining there to sleep, the Father and I instructed them, through the interpreters, in the mysteries of our Holy Faith; on which they besought us that there might be baptized fifteen of their children and seven sick adults."

Four leagues from the Casa Grande would bring us about to the spot where we were then encamped, and near to the villages of the Pimos, which, in former times, extended much further up the Gila than they do at present. The great country which the writer saw here was doubtless the plain where the villages now stand, and the great plain to the north, extending twenty-five or thirty miles to the Salinas.

But Alegro,† in recounting the arduous labors of Father Kino, relates other particulars of the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas, and the interviews between them and this zealous missionary. Kino found, in 1698, the most friendly relations existing between them, and noticed the difference in their languages and dress. But their manners and customs were the same; and

* Measure of a lance, about three yards in length.

† Hist. de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España, tom. iii., pp. 83 and 103.

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the worthy Father particularly noticed "their peacefulness and their gentleness." They were alike desirous to be baptized and instructed, a desire that Kino willingly gratified. He estimates their numbers at four thousand; but whether or not this includes both tribes, is not clear. They then irrigated their lands as now, and had large cultivated fields of wheat. The Coco-Maricopas were then situated beyond the Pimos, probably on the Salinas and Gila, below the junction. Father Kino, in another expedition to the Gila, took with him two Pimo Indians from the mission at Ures to act as his interpreters, which enabled him to communicate freely with these tribes.

In an anonymous manuscript of a Jesuit, dated 1764, descriptive of Sonora,* where he lived many years as a missionary, the writer speaks of the Pimos, who were on the precise spot where we now find them inhabiting both margins of the Gila. "The towns of that people," he says, "which occupy ten leagues of the mild vale along it, with some islands, abound in wheat, maize, etc., and yield much cotton; to them also is referred the fabrication of the finest kinds of pottery, whose remains form one of the archæological indications of the Gila valley."

But the most circumstantial account of the Pimos is that of Father Pedro Font, who, with Father Garces, made, in 1775–'76, a journey from the Presidio of Orcasitas, in Sonora, to Monterey, in California, of

* Extract from a MS. entitled, "Descripcion Geografica Natural y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora. Por un Amigo del Servicio de Dios. Año de 1764," in Mr. Schoolcraft's History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, before referred to, vol. iii. p. 304.

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which I have before spoken. They passed down the Gila, which river they struck about the place where we were now encamped. The towns were then called *Uturituc* and *Sutaguison*. I now quote from the journal of Father Font, a manuscript copy of which is in my possession:

November 1*st*. 1775. We left the laguna at half-past nine A. M., and at one P. M. arrived at Uturituc. The Indians (according to my calculation about one thousand) received us in two files, the men on one side, the women on the other; and when we alighted, they all came by turns to salute us, and shake hands with us, first the men and then the women; and they manifested great joy at seeing us. They lodged us in a large shed of boughs, which they erected on purpose, and (although Gentiles) planted a large cross in front thereof, and then went and fetched water to the camp for the people.

"*November* 2*d*. This being All Souls' day, we three priests said nine masses. We left Uturituc at 11 A. M., and at 3 P. M. stopped on the banks of the Gila, near the town of Sutaguison, having travelled about four leagues. The inhabitants of the pueblo (town), some five thousand souls, came out to receive and salute us with demonstrations of great joy. On the road we passed two other pueblos."

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At the period referred to, it appears that the Coco-Maricopas were not with the Pimos; but in journeying down the Gila, at the distance of seventeen leagues from the villages of the latter, our travellers met with a tribe whom they call the *Opas;* and fifteen leagues farther, they encountered the Coco-Maricopas, which,

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says Font, "are the same as the Opas." By following the course of the river, which it appears the Fathers did, the thirty-two leagues they travelled from the Pimos, would bring them to the western end of the jornada, where they found the Coco-Maricopas.

It has been asserted that "the Maricopas have removed gradually from the Gulf of California to their present location in juxta-position with the Pimos."* I cannot learn that they ever were on the Gulf; although it appears from the missionary authorities that there was a band of them on the western bank of the Colorado, "living in a valley thirty-six leagues in length, and, for the space of nine leagues, remarkably fertile and pleasant," who were "allied to the Coco-Maricopas of the Gila." But from the early accounts of the Indian tribes on the Gila, it appears they occupied the valley from a point west of the jornada, where Father Font found them in 1775, to the Salinas above its mouth. Father Sedelmayer met them in 1744, about the same place on the Gila, living on peaceful terms with the Pimos, and used them for his guides to the Colorado. It appears that at this time, too, they were living on the Salinas, in the very district that we passed over in our visit to the ruins on that river.

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In his description of this country, Venegas† speaks of the river Assumption, which he says, is "composed of two rivers, the Salado and Verde." These, on their

* Emory's Report, p. 89.

† The Salinas, where it unites with the Gila, was originally called the Assumption. The San Francisco, which enters the latter from the north about forty-five miles from its mouth, was called the Verde (green) and also the Azul (blue) river.

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way to the Gila, run through a very pleasant country of arable land, *inhabited by the Coco-Maricopas*, who are separated from the Pimos by a desert, although united to them in consanguinity. Their kingdom is bounded on the west by a desert and mountainous country, extending to the rancherias of the Yumas, who live along the river Colorado, but below its junction with the Gila."*

It therefore appears that the Coco-Maricopas were found early in the last century on the opposite side of the jornada, or desert of forty-five miles, which reaches to the villages of the Pimos; and that thence they extended east, occupying the banks of the Salinas, to a point north of the latter, from which, as Venegas says, "they were separated by a desert." They also traversed the country south of the Gila, where they are often located on the early maps.

It is not my intention in this work to enter into any ethnological disquisitions respecting these Indians; as they will form the subject-matter of another work. I will merely observe that, notwithstanding the deadly hostility existing between the Coco-Maricopas and Yumas, their languages are nearly the same. The Comeya, or Diegenos, of the Pacific coast, will also be found closely allied to them.

July 12th. In the hope that the Pimos might bring us in some mules, as promised, I determined to remain another day before leaving the Gila, and to employ it

* Venegas, History of California. Vol. II. p. 184. See also Clavigero, Storia de California. Hervas, Catálogo de las Lenguas. Vol. I. pp. 337 to 343.

[pp. 271-624 not processed]

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[P. 805B]
[P. 805A Contains no text on the maricopa]

131 **Maricopa.** An important Yuman tribe
[101] which since early in the 19th century has lived with and below the Pima and from about lat. 35° to the mouth of Rio

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MARICOPA MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

175 Gila, s. Ariz. In 1775, according to Gar-
131 cés, their rancherias extended about 40 m. along the Gila from about the mouth of the Hassayampa to the Aguas Calientes, although Garcés adds that "some of them are found farther down river."
101 They call themselves *Pipatje*, 'people,'

101 Maricopa being their Pima name.
● 175 Emory states that they have moved gradually from the Gulf of California to their present location in juxtaposition with the Pima, Carson having found them, as late
175 as 1826, at the mouth of the Gila. They
648 joined the Pima, whose language they do not understand, for mutual protection

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MARICOPA WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

against their kindred, but enemies, the Yuma, and the two have ever since lived peaceably together. In 1775 the Maricopa and the Yuma were at war, and as late as 1857 the latter, with some Mohave and Yavapai, attacked the Maricopa near Maricopa Wells, s. Ariz., but with the aid of the Pima the Maricopa routed the Yuma and their allies, 90 of the 93 Yuma warriors being killed. After this disaster the Yuma never ventured so far up the
101 Gila. Heintselman states, probably cor-
[114] rectly, that the Maricopa are a branch of the Cuchan (Yuma proper), from whom they separated on the occasion of an election of chiefs (H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 1857). Like the Pima, the Mari-
[171] copa are agriculturists, and in habits and customs are generally similar to them.
175 Venegas (Hist. Cal., II, 182, 185, 192, 1759)
131 states that about 6,000 Pima and Coco-
161 maricopa lived on Gila r. in 1742, and that they extended also to the Salado and the Verde; they are also said to have had some rancherias on the w. side of Colorado r., in a valley 36 leagues long. Garcés estimated the population at 3,000 in 1775. There were only 350 under the Pima school superintendent, Arizona, in 1905.

175 By act of Feb. 28, 1859, a reservation
648 was set apart for the Maricopa and the

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Pima on Gila r., Ariz.; this was enlarged by Executive order of Aug. 31, 1876; revoked and other lands set apart by Executive order of June 14, 1879; enlarged by Executive orders of May 5, 1882, and Nov. 15, 1883. No treaty was ever made with them.

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The following rancherias and other settlements at different periods are judged, from their situation, to have belonged to the Maricopa tribe: Aicatum, Amoque, Aopomue, Aqui, Aquimundurech, Aritutoc, Atiahigui, Aycate, Baquiburisac, Caborh, Caborica, Cant, Choutikwuchik, Coat, Cocoigui, Cohate, Comarchdut, Cuburidurch, Cudurimuitac, Dueztumac, Gohate, Guias, Hinama, Hiyayulge,

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MARICOPA YOUNG MAN AND WOMAN

Hueso Parado (in part), Khauweshetawes, Kwatchampedau, Norchean, Noscaric, Oitac, Ojiataibues, Pipiaca, Pitaya, Rinconada, Sacaton, San Bernardino, San Geronimo, San Martin, San Rafael, Santiago, Sasabac, Shobotarcham, Sibagoida, Sibrepue, Sicoroidag, Soenadut, Stucabitic, Sudac, Sudacsasaba, Tadeo Vaqui,

[P 806 B]